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ABSTRACT

The leadership hierarchies of 3 Mississippi communities with single major population centers of around 20,000 in 1970 were compared in terms of 3 dimensions--complexity, coordination, and openness. Similar in population size and organizational complexity, the communities were all county seats and centers for multicounty programs. They differed in: agricultural resources and history, the extent of nonagricultural employment growth since WW II, and the proportion of the population which was Negro. Data were collected from 236 persons. Complexity was measured by the extent or volume of the individual's participation in programs and organizations. Measures of coordination were the degree of generalization, represented by the number of institutional interest areas in which a leader participated and the number and proportion of leaders involved in the major voluntary coordinating organization, and the awareness and opinions that the leaders had of each other. Measures of openness dealt with the characteristics and mobility of leaders. The leadership groups were compared by age, schooling, occupation, and race. Some findings were: in each community and in each type of participation, there was a high correlation between coordination and complexity of participation; and openness did not show as much difference between the communities. (NQ)

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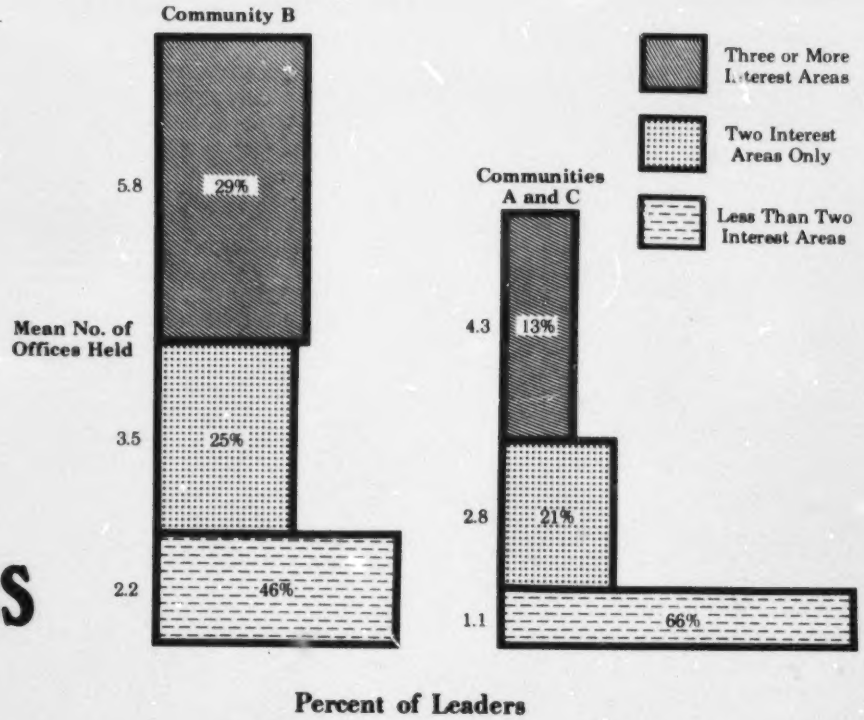
Leadership Structures in Three Small City-Centered Communities



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Leadership Structures In Three Small City-Centered Communities

The purpose of this report is to compare the leadership structures of three communities in terms of specific theoretical dimensions and their empirical measures. Focus is on basic concepts and the elaboration of their empirical measures rather than on the testing of hypotheses.[1] The three dimensions employed in analyzing leadership structure are complexity, coordination and openness. Although these concepts have been widely used, we are not aware of any attempt to employ them in the formulation of a perspective for the study of community leadership.

This report is part of a larger study that is an expression of a long time research interest in the relation of community structure to program accomplishment.[2] The general hypothesis of this larger effort is that the type of community structure, which includes leadership structure, strongly influences program accomplishment and the delivery of services. This report focuses on an operational definition of leadership structure, while direct treatment of the general hypothesis is left to subsequent publications.

General Conceptions and Measures of Leadership Structure

The attempt is made to study community leadership within the context of an explicit perspective of community structure. The notion employed is termed an interactional or an action field conception of community,[3] and the conception of leadership is designated as an action structure approach.

Leadership Perspectives

The action field perspective of community uses the leader, or in a more general sense the actor, as one of three major data organizing concepts. The other two essential concepts are (1) associations, groups and organizations, which support and conduct given actions, and (2) actions themselves as expressed in programs, projects and services.[4] This means that leadership, from the action perspective, is described and measured in terms of participation in associations and actions.

The action structure view of leadership needs to be seen in relation to the power structure approach which has had considerable prominence in the last two decades. One writer has noted that the field of community power "has experienced vigorous growth and no little controversy"[5] since the appearance of Floyd Hunter's

[1] *The position is taken here that the careful and valid definition of basic concepts necessarily precedes the testing of hypotheses, especially causal ones.*

[2] *The larger study is a Western Regional Research project dealing with community or locality structure and the development of services. The project is W-114, titled "Institutional Structures for Improving Rural Community Services", and is scheduled for five years 1971-76.*

[3] *For a treatment of this notion of community structure see (1) Harold F. Kaufman and Kenneth P. Wilkinson,* **Community Structure and Leadership.** *Mississippi State University, Social Science Research Center Bulletin No. 13, May, 1967; (2) Harold F. Kaufman, "Toward an Interactional Conception of Community,"* **Social Forces,** *Vol. 38, No. 1 October, 1959, pp. 8-17; and (3) Kenneth P. Wilkinson, "The Community As A Social Field,"* **Social Forces,** *Vol. 48, No. 3, March 1970, pp. 311-322.*

[4] *A later report on this project dealing with community planning and coordinating organizations and the development and delivery of services will further document these latter two components of community structure.*

[5] *John Walton, "A Systematic Survey of Community Power Research", pp. 443-464 in Michael Aiken & Paul E. Mott, eds.,* **The Structure of Community Power,** *New York: Random House, 1970.*

Community Power Structure in 1953.[6] Extensive debate has existed on the dominant research concern, "the question of how power is distributed", and the methodology to employ in answering this question. This dialogue over distribution is led, on the one hand, by the elitists who see power concentrated and, on the other hand, by pluralists who favor diffusion of power. Fortunately for one who wants to gain a view of the field quickly, the literature has been organized in the last several years in bibliographies, books of readings and survey articles.[7]

Perhaps the most serious weakness of the power conception of community leadership is the implication and sometimes assertion that the direct exercise of power, rather than the contribution to goal attainment and to structural innovation and maintenance, is the essence of leadership structure and process. In addition, the major focus of power structure studies has been on government and politics in the Western metropolis rather than a concern for all institutions and locality types resulting in a universal understanding of community leadership. In contrast to the limitations, an effort to be applauded is the concern of some power structure researchers in evaluating the performance and effectiveness of various types of leadership structures.[8]

Dimensions and Measures

If one is to go beyond the most elementary classification of data, one must have some dimensions of classification relevant to the focus of his study, in this case the community. Three dimensions of structure are suggested in this report and these are related to measures of participation which express or indicate them (Table 1). The two dimensions, complexity and coordination, are closely related to the classical notions of structure and structural change, differentiation and integration. The third dimension, openness, has been added to handle important data which did not appear to be appropriately classified under the other two widely used structural terms.[9]

Brief comment on the three dimensions, complexity, coordination and openness, is appropriate at this point. Complexity results in a general sense from the differentiation of structure, or the creation of new services and programs and the elaboration of existing ones. This increase in the number of associations and the specialization of institutions is what is frequently meant by organizational development. Complexity and coordination are closely related conditions, and are seen as reciprocal and com-

[6] *University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.*

[7] *For a bibliography see Willis D. Hawley and James H. Svara,* **The Study of Community Power: A Bibliographic Review,** *American Bibliographical Center, Santa Barbara: Clio Press, Inc., 1972. Three books of readings which together give a fairly comprehensive view of the field are Terry N. Clark,* **Community Structure and Decision Making: Comparative Analyses,** *San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1968; Aiken and Mott,* **Op. Cit.** *and Charles M. Bonjean, Terry N. Clark and Robert L. Lineberry,* **Community Politics: A Behavioral Approach,** *New York: The Free Press, 1971. Also noted is a work of scope by an individual scholar, a comparative study of four cities on three continents, see Delbert C. Miller,* **International Community Power Structures: Comparative Studies of Four World Cities,** *Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1970.*

[8] *See for example Terry N. Clark,* **Community Power and Policy Outputs: A Review of Urban Research,** *Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, Inc., 1973.*

[9] *The three dimensions are treated in some detail in Harold F. Kaufman, Avtar Singh, and Satadal Dasgupta,* **Villages Upward Bound: Community Structure and Technological Development in Selected Indian Villages.** *Editions Indian, Calcutta, 1975. See especially appropriate sections of Chapters I, V, and VI, and Tables V-28 and VI-2.*

The problem focus of the study might suggest which of the three dimensions should be treated first and emphasized. In the Indian village study, for example, the complexity dimension expressed in terms of extent of development organization was the essence of the difference between the more and the less developed villages. In the present three-community study, however, overall organizational complexity is very similar. The critical dimension, suggested by the available data appears to be coordination. Thus coordination might well have been given priority and treated first in this paper.

For a further discussion of coordination, hierarchy and related concepts in a treatment of leadership structure see Harold F. Kaufman, "Community Influentials: Power Figures or Leaders?" **Journal of the Community Development Society,** *Vol. 6, No. 1, Spring, 1975, pp. 71-87.*

plementary when expressed in the processes of differentiation and integration.

The dimension of community openness focuses on communication among leaders and leadership groups, on the mobility of leadership, and on its representativeness in terms of place of residence, social class and ethnic group.

Table 1. Dimensions of Community Leadership Structure and Measures of Leadership Participation Through Which They are Expressed.

Dimensions of Structure	Measures of Participation
Complexity	Volume and Extent
Coordination	Generalized Participation, Participation in Community Coordination Organizations, Recognition of Leadership
Openness	Representativeness of, and Communication among Interests, Race and Age groups, etc.; Mobility of Minorities and Lower Rank Groups

Leadership Hierarchy

A general concept which may be used in organizing and interpreting dimensions and measures of leadership is that of hierarchy. The two leadership approaches noted above have different explanations of the hierarchy. The power structure view emphasizes the distribution of power, its concentration or diffusion. By contrast the action approach focuses on factors which facilitate program accomplishment, such as scope and extent of involvement and use of group and technical skills.

In a situation of any complexity some degree of hierarchy is essential for an effective structure. The notion of hierarchy is presented graphically below in comparing the leadership structures of the three communities.

Research Sites and Selection of Leaders

Analysis and interpretation of the data require descriptions of the research sites. Procedures for selection of leaders are also desirable.

Research Sites

The research sites were three Mississippi communities with single major population centers of around 20,000 in 1970. The three communities were designated as A, B, and C and each was in a different section of the state. They varied as to population and economic characteristics which may have had bearing on the community structure and the leadership.

Community A is a well-known historical site and was relatively early in moving out of cotton plantation agriculture and in gaining some industry. About 50 percent of its 1970 population was Negro. Community B has a small-farm agricultural economy. In the last three decades, however, it has taken rapid strides in developing nonagricultural jobs. One-fifth or less of its 1970 population was Negro. Community C still has a cotton plantation agriculture, although the population in agriculture had declined from two-thirds to less than one-sixth of the total in 30 years. The total population had also declined because the number of nonagricultural jobs created had not equaled those lost in agriculture. Approximately 60 percent of the 1970 population was Negro.

The three communities were similar in population size and organizational complexity. They were all county seats and were centers for multicounty programs. They differed in agricultural resources and history, in the extent of growth of nonagricultural employment since World War II, and in the proportion of the population which was Negro. Most important in this study was the difference in the nature of development activities and organization.

Each of the communities was average or above in its efforts to provide adequate community services and nonagricultural jobs. Community B has been recognized in the state and in the nation for the effectiveness of its development organizations.

Procedures in the Selection of Leaders

The data were collected in the

[10] Comparable leadership data were collected on two of the three communities in 1964. Other information was collected on the two communities in surveys in 1965 and 1966. A manuscript on the 1964-66 field studies, entitled "Community Structure and Involvement: Review and Bibliography of Study of Two Small City-Centered Communities," is now being written. In this work nearly sixty manuscripts have been prepared, over half of which have been published.

three communities in the summer of 1972.[10] The first step in securing a sample of leaders was to interview community knowledgeables, such as the secretary and officers of the Chamber of Commerce and top government officials, as to the current community actions and programs and the major participants in these programs. Persons who were reported to be program leaders were also asked for the same information. After several days of this type of interviewing a list of several score of program participants was compiled for each community. Persons were listed for interviewing in terms of priority based on the frequency of being named and on their reported influence in given programs.

The final step in leadership selection was to interview as many on the lists of program participants as time and funds would allow. The goal at the beginning of the field work was to interview upward to 100 persons in each community. Time, however, did not permit this goal to be realized. Schedules were taken on 96 persons in community A, 71 in community B and 69 in community C. The size of the sample and the technique of selection likely resulted in interviewing a large majority of the most involved and active leaders in each community.[11]

Complexity of Structure

The dimension of complexity is expressed through measures of the extent or volume of participation of individuals in programs and organizations. Complexity of structure results from the growth of new programs and organizations. It is seen in the interest scope of organizations and programs as well as in the total number of them. The interest scope (the number of interest areas in which organizations and programs were found) was very similar for the three communities. Twelve categories were used in the classification (see footnote 15); organizations and/or programs were found in each of these categories in each of the three communities.

The degree of formality or institutionalization is expressed here by distinguishing between programs and organizations, or actions and associations. Programs are to be regarded more as emergent structure---structure in process or in change. They may be seen potentially as structurally innovative, while organizations are more formal and institutionalized. Participation measures in organizations are the number of memberships and officerships, while participation in programs is a general measure, without indicating the extent of involvement.

Programs include activities which result in the development of services and those of a more general nature which create structures that provide continuing support for given types of services. Illustrations of the first type of activity are a program to expand an airport and one to promote a community theatre, and, of the second type, the organization of a transportation commission of local government and a fine arts committee of the community development association.

The three communities are compared in terms of number of memberships and offices in organizations and number of programs in which involved (Table 2). Community B differs from the other two in that (1) it has higher overall rates and (2) in the highest categories it has many more persons involved. In the highest membership category community B has 14 of the total of 20 persons, in officers 19 of 26, and in programs

[11] Distrubutions of the data on extent and scope of participation indicate that a sample of 50 may have been adequate. The evidence for this judgement is the fact that the groups interviewed included 70 to 80 percent of the persons (20 to 30 in each community) with the highest number of reputational mentions. Most of the persons omitted were on the interview lists but could not be reached for interviewing.

On the types of measures used, comparison of communities in terms of numbers rather than in percents appears to be equally or more appropriate because community A with a nearly 40 percent larger sample also had a much larger proportion of less active participants.

14 of 27. As expected, the mean number of positions in each type of participation is seen to be considerably larger in community B than in the other two.

Participation in organizations and programs obviously would not take place if there were not the opportunity for it. This opportunity, especially in programs, was created in part by the present participants. The differential effort of community participants explains in part the difference in number and magnitude of programs among the communities. The number of programs delineated in community A was 45, in community B, 60, and in community C, 30.[12] Programs represented all interests, ranging from the location of industry and water management to the day care center and the symphony orchestra. Most programs were sponsored by committees or boards. Some were committees of organizations or official boards of government, others were autonomous and ad hoc groups.[13]

Relevant to this discussion are two types of organizations and programs, namely, the community-oriented and the exclusively membership-oriented. Community activities are those organized to serve a population larger and more diverse than the sponsoring group, while membership-oriented ones are exclusively for the members of the organization. Memberships and officerships in both types of organizations are reported here but participation in community programs only is enumerated.

Good examples of the membership-serving organizations are fraternal and leisure time groups. These organizations usually have only programs which are exclusively for their membership. By contrast the most community-oriented organizations have programs that involve several interests and serve large and diverse populations in the locality. The two most influential community-oriented organizations studied were (1) voluntary coordinating and program organizations, e.g., the Chamber of Commerce, and (2) city and county governments.

Measures of Coordination

Coordination is a basic notion in the conception of community. The notion of a configuration and organization of activities and interests in a given locale is basic in the definition of community. Coordination is the process by which activities are related one to the other through individuals and groups acting together to solve local problems.[14]

The two major measures of coordination employed here are (1) the degree of generalization as represented by the number of institutional interest areas[15] in which a leader is participating and (2) the number and proportion of leaders involved in the major voluntary coordinating organization. Two lesser measures of community coordination and consensus are (1) the awareness and (2) the opinions that community leaders have of each other.

Generalized Participation

The word general means pertaining to the whole. Thus, the more generalized the leadership in a community context, the broader is its scope in terms of the number of interest areas. The three communities are compared in terms of the degree of generalization of leadership (Table 3), with generalization measured in terms of a combination of organization and program interests.

Leaders are classified into three categories concerning degree of generalization. In the highest category persons held offices in organizations and were participating in programs in three or more interest areas. In this top category community B has 21 leaders, approximately twice as many as either of the other two communities. The middle category comprises leaders in two interest areas only in both offices and programs, while the third grouping of leaders are those with the least

[12] *For a listing of the programs in each community see S. K. Reddy, "Programs for Rural Development: A Comparative Study of Three Mississippi Multicounty Centers,"* **Proceedings of Rural Sociology Section,** *annual meeting of Association of Southern Agricultural Workers, Atlanta, Georgia, February, 1973.*

[13] *As some of the programs had "their own organization," the offices held in these were counted in the tabulations along with offices held in the more established and traditional organizations.*

[14] *The senior author in another paper defines coordination as "the central activity of community leadership." See Harold F. Kaufman, "Community Influentials: Power Figures or Leaders?",* **Op. Cit.**

[15] *Organizations and programs were classified into 12 different institutional interest areas. These were (1) industry and trade, (2) agricultural and natural resources, (3) education, (4) welfare, (5) health, (6) housing, (7) recreation and the arts, (8) religion, (9) fraternal, ethnic and patriotic, (10) public facilities and services, (11) local government administration, and (12) community-wide, multi-interest activities. Two major criteria in determining classifications were substantive differences and number of activities in an interest area.*

interest scope of participation. In the latter two categories community B is either similar or has a smaller number than the other two communities.

Participation in Community Coordinating Agencies

The two most influential types of community-oriented organizations in the localities studied were (1) the voluntary coordinating and program association---the Chambers of Commerce in communities A and C and the community development association in community B---and (2) the city government and the county government. One might expect that the number and proportion of leaders involved in these organizations would indicate their relative strength and their impact on the coordinating and planning efforts in the community. The most important difference found among the communities was participation in voluntary community organizations; the extent of participation in government was similar for all three communities (Table 4).

Community B had more than twice as many leaders involved in the voluntary organization as the total for both the other communities, 37 and 36 respectively. This much greater leadership involvement indicates an organization of considerable intensity and scope of program. The greater involvement also reflects the much larger number of community programs in community B, many of which were sponsored in part or entirely by the voluntary organization. This organization was involved in sponsorship of about half of the 60 programs in the community. The voluntary coordinating organizations in the other two communities were involved in decidedly fewer programs.

The best way to discover the coordinating effort of an organization is to observe the contacts it makes through various programs with other organizations. In the absence of this information, however, some indication of the potential for coordination may be seen in the relative number of generalized (two or more interest areas) leaders in the coordinating agencies. This interest scope may result from participation in the coordinating organization as well as from involvement in other groups with different interests.

The three communities are compared as to the number of generalized leaders involved in the voluntary coordinating organizations and in city and county governments (Table 5). As might be expected from the above analysis, community B had a decidedly larger number and a higher proportion of generalized leaders in the coordinating agencies, especially in the voluntary organizations. In

Table 5. Involvement in Voluntary Community Organization* and in Government, by Degree of Generalization of Leadership, Three Communities, Mississippi, 1972.

Item	Community A	B	C	All
Total Number of Persons	96	71	69	236
Number Participating in Voluntary Organizations	16	37	20	73
Number of these leaders generalized	10	27	9	46
Percent of these leaders generalized	63	73	45	63
Number Participating in Government	38	34	34	106
Number of these leaders generalized	17	24	19	60
Percent of these leaders generalized	45	71	56	57

*Includes persons holding offices and committee positions, not membership only.

Table 6. Recognition of Leaders As Measured by Number of Mentions a Person Receives as a Leader, Three Communities, Mississippi, 1972.

Item	Community A	B	C
Number of Persons			
Total	96	71	69
Receiving 1 or more mentions	49	56	45
Receiving 6 or more mentions	14	21	20
Percent of Persons			
Receiving 6 or more mentions	15	30	29

Table 7. Distribution of Leaders on the Community Opinion Support Scale of Twelve Items, Three Communities, Mississippi, 1972.

Item	Community A	B	C
Total Number of Persons	96	71	69
Percent of Persons Having a Score* of			
Twelve	35	67	45
Eleven	48	31	38
Ten or Less	17	2	17

*See footnote 17 and text for explanation of scale.

this latter type of organization community B reported 27 generalized leaders as compared with 10 in community A and 9 in community C. Even in participation in government, where the total number of leaders was much the same for each community, community B had a higher number of generalized leaders involved---24 as compared with 17 and 19, respectively, in communities A and C.

Although the number of generalized leaders and their importance in coordinating organizations gives some indication of the existence of community coordination, it does not provide a detailed description of the form of the overall leadership network and the pattern of coordination.[16] It may be assumed that greater coordination would be found in one relatively large, closely knit network, with most if not all of the score or more of most active leaders at the center, than in a structure consisting of two or more smaller and fairly autonomous networks, with the most active leaders scattered among them.

Other Measures of Coordination

Other measures of community coordination deal with the awareness and opinions that community leaders have of themselves and of community programs. The three communities are compared in terms of the number of persons who were mentioned as leaders (Table 6). On the measure of six or more mentions communities B and C were very similar while there was less recognition in community A.

A comparison was made of communities A and B in terms of the number of leadership choices made by the generalized leaders. The extensiveness or volume of choice was about twice as large in community B as A. The 39 generalized leaders in B chose an average of 9.8 persons as leaders, while the mean in community A was 5.3. The mean number of choices which generalized leaders had for each other, an indication of leadership cohesiveness, was 5.5 in community B and 2.6 in A.

The leaders of the three communities are compared on an opinion scale of community support (Table 7). The scale consists of 12

[16] *Effort is underway to delineate leadership networks in the communities studied but a discussion of this work is beyond the scope of this paper. Two general approaches have been taken to this problem. The more common one is the sociometric type of analysis focusing on leaders and contacts which they have with each other. The second approach attempts to group the programs or issues which have common participants. For the latter approach see Linton C. Freeman,* **Patterns of Local Leadership,** *Bobbs- Merrill Co., Indianapolis, 1968.*

statements constructed by the cumulative or Guttman scaling procedure.[17] The highest value, 12, was given to a negative reaction to the statement "Leadership in my community is in the hands of a very few people." This answer is to be interpreted as awareness on part of the respondents of openness, availability and representativeness of leadership rather than the fact of the existence of a leadership hierarchy as the term is technically used in this report. Community B had the highest level of community support while A and C were similar on this measure (Table 7.)

Measures of Structural Openness

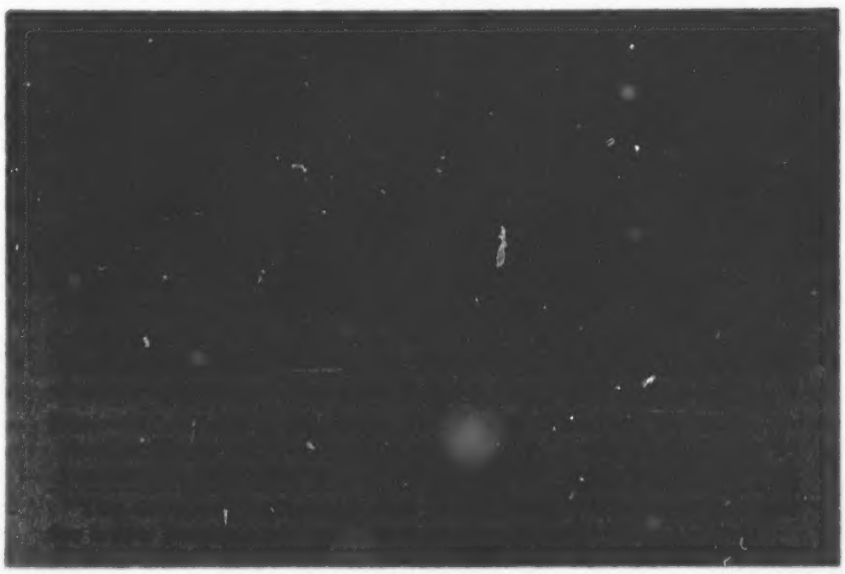
The third dimension of concern in the study of community leadership structure is openness. Measures of openness used here deal with the characteristics and the mobility of leaders.[18] The leadership groups of the three communities are compared on the basis of age, schooling, occupation and race (Table 8).

Leaders in community B were slightly younger than those in the other two communities, a larger percent under 35 years of age and a smaller percent over 50. The communities had no appreciable and consistent differences in the socio-economic measures of schooling and occupation. Leadership was entirely of upper and middle rank. The great majority had some college education and more than one-half had a college degree. Relatively few were blue collar workers; the larger number of such workers in communities B and A may be related to the much larger number of persons employed in factories.

The most significant measures of structural openness are those indicating mobility into community leadership positions of members of minority groups and persons of formerly lower socio-economic rank. Indication of leadership mobility in this study was found in the appearance of Negro leadership in the large community. This radical change had taken place in all three communities in the last few years. A similar leadership survey in communities A and B in 1964 reported only one Negro leader in community B and none in A in that year.

The communities were similar regarding the number of Negro leaders reported and the proportion Negroes formed of each community sample (Table 8). Negroes in each community held a number of appointive positions on public boards and committees. In communities A and C, where blacks formed one-half or more of the population, a Negro had been elected to the city council and one to the county board of supervisors. Negro leaders also participated in voluntary community programs; most of these were of special interest to the Negro community but several were non-ethnic.

Although the leadership group in community B was only slightly better represented by "the minorities"---such as the blue-collar workers, the young and Negroes---this community did possess a more representative and a stronger community-wide development structure than did the other two. Often in communities like the three studied, voluntary coordinating organizations focus largely on the major population center and have little participation from the open country and smaller



[17] *For procedure in construction of this scale and some of the items used see appendix B in Jerry W. Robinson, Jr.,* **Residential Stratification in Old City,** *Ph. D. Dissertation, Mississippi State University, August 1966.*

[18] *Unfortunately time and finances were not available to secure communication data on leader-follower networks. One of the strongest types of indicators of openness of leadership structure deals with the extent and representativeness of the communication of leaders with followers. This may be measured by number and representativeness of contacts of a personal nature, and of those through groups and mass media.*

towns in the county. This was the case for communities A and C but not for B. The community development association in B had a strong rural neighborhood development program and also was integrated with a council of governments that included all the towns in the county.

Comparison of Leadership Hierarchies

The findings presented may be summarized in terms of the concept, leadership hierarchy. Measures of two of the three dimensions of leadership structure, complexity and coordination, were employed in constructing an empirical hierarchy. On these measures community B had noticeably greater scope (coordination) and volume (complexity) of participation than did the other two communities.

The third dimension of leadership structure, openness, did not show as much difference between community B and the other two as was the case with complexity and coordination. Greater differences, however, might have been found had more valid measures of openness---communication, representativeness and mobility---been discovered and used.

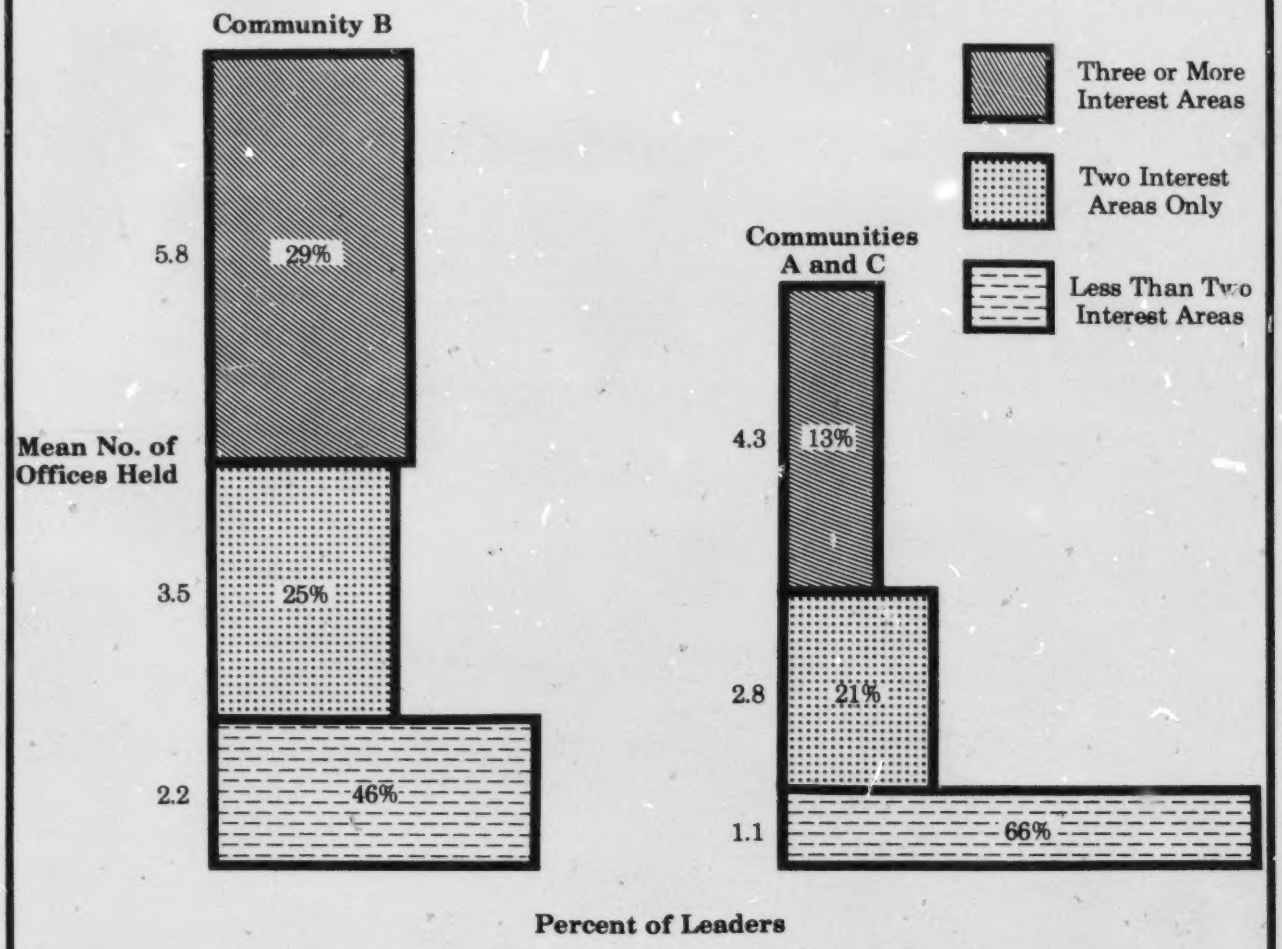
Differences Among the Communities

Similarities and differences among the three communities on scope and volume of leader participation are summarized in Table 9. Leaders are classified, as first presented in Table 3, in terms of degree of generalization. Generalization has been defined as the number of institutional interest areas in which offices in organizations and participation in programs are found. The highest category had participation in both offices and programs in three or more interest areas and the lowest category participation in less than two interest areas. In each of the three communities and in each type of participation there was a high correlation between scope and volume of participation. The category of persons with the highest degree of generalization had a participation rate three to four times that of the lowest category.

Community B had higher participation (except in one category) than did the other two communities. Differences were greater for offices than for programs. Overall differences between community B and communities A and C are due as much, or more, to a higher number and proportion of persons in the highest category, and the reverse for the lowest category in community B, than to higher mean values in each category.[19] For example, persons with three or more interests in community B hold a mean of 5.8 offices and in communities A and C combined 4.3 offices; the mean number of offices in the lowest generalization category are 2.2 and 1.1 respectively. In the highest category community B has 21 persons or 29 percent of the total as compared with 21 persons or 13 percent of the total for communities A and C combined. The reverse relationship is found in the lowest category. These differences in proportions result in greater differences between the means for the total populations than for those in any one category.

[19] Assuming similar population size and organizational complexity, the differences among communities may not be so much in total number of leaders as in the extent and depth of participation. Cf. Kaufman, Singh and Dasgupta, **Op. Cit.** *especially Chapter V. In this study of more and less developed Indian Villages about the same number of leaders were found in each type of village, but the more developed villages had two to three times the extent of participation as they were the only villages with the highest participants.*

Figure 1. Leadership Hierarchies, as Indicated by Participation of Leaders in Offices and Programs, Community B and Communities A and C Combined, Mississippi, 1972.[1]



[1]Prepared from data in the left and right-hand columns of Table 9. The combined scope and volume of participation are indicated by the relative size of the bars. The height of the bars represents the number of offices held in each category of participation; i.e., three or more interest areas, two only or less than two. The width of the bars represents the percent that each category is of the total leadership group in community B and in Communities A and C combined.

Interpretation of Hierarchy

The leadership hierarchy of community B as compared with that of communities A and C combined is presented graphically in Figure 1. One observation concerning the hierarchy deals with the relation of volume and scope of participation. These two measures are highly correlated,[20] although they do not logically need to be so. There are two types of participants who affect the correlation, namely, the specialist who is usually paid and the volunteer generalist. Highly involved specialists tend to participate in a number of activities in one or a few interest areas, while

[20]Scope of participation in terms of the three classes of generalized leadership was related to the number of offices held and the number of programs in which participated. Using a one way analysis of variance, the relationship was significant at the .001 level in each of the three communities.

the generalist, by definition, is one who gets involved in more interests as the volume of his participation increases. The high correlation results because many more generalists than specialists have leadership positions.

The second observation pertains to the strength and effectiveness of leadership among the communities. Leadership hierarchy in an action perspective emphasizes factors that facilitate program and project accomplishment. Hierarchy, measuring the scope and extent of involvement, indicates the use of group and technical skills. Broader and higher bars at the top of the leadership structure suggest more effective leadership in community efforts. This is especially true if the participation takes place in the major community organizations, such as the community development association and local government, rather than participation that is individually oriented and is somewhat random concerning the organizations involved. Relevant to this point is the contrast between community B and the other two communities.

Community B had a much higher number and proportion of leaders participating in the voluntary coordinating organization than did the other two communities.[21] Many more generalized leaders also were involved (Table 4 and 5). Although the total number of leaders participating in government was much the same in each of the three communities, the proportion and number of generalized participants were noticeably greater in community B.

The relatively larger number of generalized leaders in both the voluntary community association and local government in community B is also an indication of greater leadership effectiveness. Community B is compared with community A as to the number of generalized leaders in each type of organization as follows:

	B	A
Voluntary association	27	10
Government	24	17
Both	21	10
Total	39	30

These data and other available information point to the importance of the voluntary community association in shaping the leadership hierarchy in community B.[22]

A final question deals with the shape of the leadership hierarchy. What would be its shape, especially the size of the least active category, should all persons holding offices in community activities be represented? The method of sampling, as described above, was so devised that three-fourths or more of the most active leaders were included in the survey. Thus a complete enumeration would not likely have changed the relative numbers in the top two categories. A complete enumeration of persons holding offices would, however, probably have increased appreciably the number of persons in the lowest category. Thus even in this category community B would compare favorably with the other communities as to number of persons, but it would likely have a lower percentage.

Further Research and Implications for Practice

This paper has focused on the leaders and the leadership structure in three communities. A report to follow will be concerned with a description of the community programs in which the leaders participated and an analysis of the coordinating structures that made the various efforts possible. These two reports taken together will speak to the broader problem of the type of community structure most conducive to program accomplishment.

This report is a part of a larger study dealing with the relation of community structure to program accomplishment. An attempt was made to study community leadership within the context of an interactional or action field perspective of community. In this perspective, actors or leaders are seen as they act or participate in programs and organizations and as they relate one to the other in coordinating, planning and program development structures.

Other relevant research concerns deal with (1) the leader participation profile, (2) continuity of voluntary leadership, (3) the emergence of black leadership, and (4) informal leadership networks and structures. Data dealing with each of the four types of problems are available from the survey (1972) on which this report is based and from an earlier study (1964) of two of the three communities.[23]

One problem in analyzing the leader participation profile is to dis-

[21] A major difference among communities was at the higher levels of leadership generalization, those with two or more interest areas. (See footnote 18 for another study with the same findings). A one-way analysis of variance on the number of offices held by the more generalized leaders yielded a test of significance of .05 among communities with respect to number of leaders. A test of proportions between community B, and A and C combined resulted in a significance level of .06.

[22] The role of this association is analyzed in subsequent reports.

[23] Manuscripts are in progress or are contemplated in some of these problem areas.

cover the relation between high involvement in community-oriented activities and that in membership-oriented activities only. For example, do the highly involved community leaders also participate extensively in religious, fraternal and leisure-time membership groups or does the leadership for these membership-oriented organizations rest with another group of people? Another important question concerning the leadership profile deals with relating participation in voluntary community structures to participation in government.

A study of leadership continuity needs to focus both on the characteristics of leaders, and on the community structures which provide the basis for continuity. Although some attention has been given to the tenure of organizational leadership, especially political, very little work has been done on the continuity of voluntary community leaders.

Brief mention was made above of the emergence in each of the three communities in the last few years of a sizable group of Negro leaders. The nature of this change needs to be studied in detail with respect to (1) the characteristics of the mobile persons, (2) the organizations and programs in which they became involved and which made possible their mobility, and (3) comparison of Negroes with white on the above two factors. This recent movement of Negro leadership into the larger community is to be contrasted to the traditional participation of Negroes which was limited almost entirely to their own community.

A fourth additional area of work is needed on informal leadership networks and structures. It is known that much communication and decision making is conducted through informal networks. Questions that need answers are: What are the nature of these networks? How do they relate to formal structures? Are they necessary for high levels of accomplishment?

Research is not an end in itself for those interested in community improvement and development. Refinement in conceptualization of leadership structure has and can contribute not only to community theory but also to community organization and practice. Concern for local efforts, especially of a voluntary nature, is widespread. How leaders are to be discovered and typed, how they relate one to the other and to their followers, and what type of leadership structure is most conducive to program accomplishment are questions with high relevance for community practice.

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